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MR. SPEAKER :—“ Under Rule 83 of the Madras Legislative Assembly Rules, I hereby nominate Hon. Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker, to be the Chairman of the Select Committee.”

VI.—GOVERNMENT MOTION *RE*.

EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN CITIZENS OF CEYLON FROM RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following resolution standing in my name :—

That, this Assembly expresses its deep sympathy with those citizens of Ceylon who having been settled in Ceylon for the benefit and development of the island and become citizens of Ceylon are by a series of measures sought to be excluded from the rights of citizenship conferred on the people of Ceylon.

That, this Assembly extends to these unfortunate citizens of Ceylon its fullest sympathy in their struggle for justice and equal civic rights.

That, this Assembly appeals to the better mind of the people of Ceylon to extend their support to their unfortunate brethren in their struggle for their legitimate rights.

That, this Assembly recommends to the Government to forward the above resolution to the Government of India for necessary action.

“ Sir, I think any lengthy speech in support of this motion is not necessary. Before tabling this resolution, I consulted the Hon. Leader of the Opposition and also some other leaders on the other side. It is almost an agreed resolution and therefore, I am sure, it will have a smooth passage in this House. In discussing this resolution, I would like hon. Members to bear in mind that we are dealing with the independent Government of Ceylon. As far as we are concerned, we have absolutely no right to interfere with the internal administration of Ceylon. They are as much an independent country as we are. Therefore, it will not be right on our part to indulge in any kind of strong criticism against that Government. Further, ours is a State Assembly. As such, we have absolutely nothing to do with any other foreign State. In these circumstances, I request the hon. Members not to be severe in their criticism with regard to the attitude of the Government of Ceylon.

“ The first part of the resolution deals with the exclusion from the rights of citizenship of certain people who have been in Ceylon for a very considerable time. They have gone there from India, and especially, from South India. No doubt, they went there to eke out their livelihood. Having gone there, by their hard work they have developed the country. I have not myself gone to Ceylon. But, I have learnt from many people who have gone

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there and also from literature relating to Ceylon that the development of that land is mainly due to the people who have gone over there from South India, and, but for the labour and hard work of these people, Ceylon would not have been developed to its present state. Having gone there, they have settled there and have become almost residents of that island. Unfortunately, at the present time, certain fundamental rights and certain elementary rights to which ordinary residents of a country are entitled, are being denied to them. It is no doubt true that it is for the country concerned to have their own laws of citizenship. But, in having those laws of citizenship certain principles of natural justice have got to be observed. They should not exclude a certain set of persons and a certain section of the community residing in that island on the ground that they were born in another country or on the ground that they came from another country. They can prescribe a qualification that for the purposes of determining the citizenship of a person, he should have resided there continuously for a certain period. Having prescribed that qualification, they should see that all those persons who satisfied the conditions and qualifications prescribed by them are made citizens as early and as easily as possible. But we find that though the right of citizenship is sought to be conferred on Indians, all sorts of obstacles are placed against them. We also find that as a result of this, most of the Indians who are now residing in Ceylon are excluded from the rights of citizenship. Now, there is going to be an election to the Parliament of Ceylon. Those residents of Ceylon, who have gone from India and who have been residing there for a very long time are denied the right to exercise their franchise, as citizenship rights have not yet been conferred **||** on them. Hon. Members may perhaps know that a movement has been launched thereby those residents who have been denied this elementary right. It has been the policy of the Government of India, the people of India and also the Indian National Congress that support and sympathy should be extended to those people to whom this elementary right is denied and who are being exploited by others, even though those people may live in another part of the world, completely separated from us. Not only in Ceylon, but in South Africa also, some of our brethren are facing the same fate. Of course, the present resolution does not deal with that. But, it is necessary that we should extend our sympathy and support to those unfortunate citizens who are to-day fighting for their elementary rights. We cannot be blind to the fact that they are our own kith and kin, although they may live in another part of the world. We cannot shut our eyes to their disabilities. It is but just and necessary that we should express our sympathy to them, and this we are doing by this resolution. We are watching with interest and sympathy their struggle for recognition of their citizenship rights. Our sympathies are with them.

" In this connexion, we are also appealing to the better mind of the people of Ceylon, who have got sympathy for human values. This question should be considered in the light of the entire humanity. The people of Ceylon should think that everybody should

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have equal rights, whatever may be their place of birth. We appeal to the people of Ceylon that they must give support to those unfortunate residents who are now fighting for their legitimate rights. I am moving this resolution to express our sympathies to those residents of Ceylon who are fighting for their citizenship rights. Ceylon has got ever so many natural ties with India. Sometime back, a bogey was set up that India wanted to conquer Ceylon. It has been made clear that there was no such intention on the part of India to conquer Ceylon or to force that country to do a particular thing. We recognize Ceylon as an independent country and we have been dealing with that country as such. But we are entitled to extend our sympathy to any section of the people in any country in any part of the world, if they are suppressed, and denied even the elementary rights. It is the duty of every right-minded and democratic-minded citizen to extend his sympathy and support to the extent possible, to those oppressed people, in the matter of establishment of elementary rights. We have got a right to do this, because of our past association with Ceylon. So, I request hon. Members to pass this motion unanimously. As for sending this resolution to the Government of Ceylon, I do not think we can deal with Ceylon directly. What we can do is to send this resolution to the Government of India for taking necessary action. That will be the only right thing for us to do, as we have nothing to do with a foreign Government. With these words, I move this resolution and commend it to the honourable House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Motion moved—

' That this Assembly expresses its deep sympathy with those citizens of Ceylon who having been settled in Ceylon for the benefit and development of the island and become citizens of Ceylon are by a series of measures sought to be excluded from the rights of citizenship conferred on the people of Ceylon.

' That this Assembly extends to these unfortunate citizens of Ceylon its fullest sympathy in their struggle for justice and equal civic rights.

' That this Assembly appeals to the better mind of the people of Ceylon to extend their support to their unfortunate brethren in their struggle for their legitimate rights.

' That this Assembly recommends to the Government to forward the above resolution to the Government of India for necessary action.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Does the hon. Member, Mr. C. Venkatakrishna Rao, move the amendment standing in his name? "

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" No, Sir, in view of the assurance given by the Hon. the Leader of the House in his speech which embodies the spirit of my amendment."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Does Mr. R. V. Swaminathan move his amendment? "

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SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—“ Yes, Sir, I move—

‘ That this Assembly requests the Government of India to take this question to the United Nations Organization.’ ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ If the amendment is seconded, then the Government Motion as well as the amendment will be before the House and the House may discuss both.”

SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDI :—“ I second the amendment.”

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is an important resolution which is intended to support a section of the people in Ceylon who have been disfranchised. Nearly eight lakhs of Indians who have settled in Ceylon and who have developed the plantation and other industries of that country have been denied the right of citizenship. This is a gross violation of human rights. It is a pity that such a thing happens in what is called a Commonwealth and it is also a pity that a lot of prejudice is involved in this move. Sir, prejudice often results from self-interest and the Ceylonese authorities out of self-interest have denied the eight lakhs of citizens their right to vote at the elections as also their citizenship rights. What does the Ceylonese Government say? It says it is just accidental that it has happened so. I feel it is not an accident. It is an attempt to deprive a section of the people who may not like the type of Government that exists in that country of their legitimate rights. Injustice has been done to eight lakhs of Indians in Ceylon. The Government of India had addressed a conciliatory note to the Ceylonese Government that the matter might be taken up again, but the Ceylonese Government treated this matter as though it was not of much importance and said that it considered that the error had crept in only with regard to the coming elections. No, no. It has crept in for all time. It is an attempt to drive away these settlers out of Ceylon stage by stage and we have read in newspapers that the Ceylonese authorities are trying to deport hundreds after hundreds of Indian settlers there on the plea that they had gone there recently. This is the way things are happening. We are not only going to protect the rights of the Indian citizens in Ceylon who have been done an injustice, we are also going to support in this resolution the fundamental rights of the entire human race. Wherever things are done on account of prejudice we must protest. We should voice in most emphatic terms—and we should not mince words in this matter—our protest. We must tell the Ceylonese Government that even though they can claim the right to follow an independent policy they should not perpetuate this sort of injustice. It is not a question, Sir, of our taking up the cause of Indians. It is not a question of Indians or Ceylonese. It is a question of human rights being violated. These eight lakhs of people have been there for more than two or three generations. It is not their fault that their fathers had gone to Ceylon for settlement. It is not just or right that somebody else should reap the benefits of their labour and that they should be denied their elementary right of citizenship. I say, Sir,

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it is not a conciliatory attitude that we should adopt when fundamental rights are affected. We should as a matter of fact adopt a just attitude and just attitude in this case means stiff attitude. Unless such an attitude is adopted by us, men in power in Ceylon will go the same way as their self-interest dictates. The Government of India have already adopted enough conciliatory attitude and it is time that this House warns seriously that the Ceylonese Government cannot in the name of technicalities continue to perpetrate this kind of injustice. It is not outsiders that can set the thing right. It is the Ceylonese Government themselves that are to take up the cause of Ceylonese Indians and I am sure there is enough democratic feeling in that country which supports the cause of fundamental rights for the citizens. If the Government of Ceylon are not going to protect the rights of these citizens, what is to be done by us? We believe in democracy and we should fight for it and see that the citizens of Indian origin get their rights. I do not think it is fair that the Ceylonese Government should raise the bogey of Ceylon being invaded. What I feel, Sir, is that the Ceylon Indians should not be left in the air, to the tender mercies of the ruling power in Ceylon. They should be repatriated or their rights should be protected. This is the course that is open for this House to adopt. It is a pity that, while India is said to be in the Commonwealth, Indians in a Commonwealth country should be treated as though they are slaves and serfs. When we raise this issue in this House, Sir, we must remember that there is a principle involved in it. I feel, therefore, that this Legislature and other legislative bodies in the country should voice their emphatic protest wherever and whenever the rights of citizens of Indian origin are being trampled upon and I hope the Commonwealth countries will realize this fact."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I fix ten minutes for each Member."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the resolution moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House and thanking him for the same, I would like to point out that the question of Indians in Ceylon has been there for several years and yet it remains unsolved. This matter was taken up with the Ceylonese Government even before our independence. It was the Indian National Congress that first took up this matter and some of the Indian leaders also visited Ceylon in this connexion—particularly our present Prime Minister Mr. Nehru and our Chief Minister Rajaji. They tried their best to settle the issue but it is there still. What is the trouble there? There are about ten lakhs of Indians who have settled there and who want the right to vote at elections. Of these ten lakhs of persons, eight lakhs are South Indians. They want the same rights as are enjoyed by other people in Ceylon. They want franchise: Sir, the Indians in Ceylon had been enjoying certain rights and they were agitating for more. But now even the very rights they were enjoying have been taken away. Very few names are found in the electoral rolls so far as Indians are concerned. The new Act has placed certain restrictions on the

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right of an Indian in Ceylon to vote. Those who want to get themselves registered as Ceylonese nationals have been denied the right to do so and this prevents them from voting at the elections. Sir, even to-day there are about two lakhs of applications pending before the Government from Indian nationals in Ceylon seeking citizenship rights. This fact has also been admitted by the Ceylonese Government and yet they have not done anything. In the Parliament of Ceylon, there are seven Indian members representing the Indian community there. Now on account of the several restrictions imposed by the new Act, none has so far filed any nomination for election to the Parliament. At a time when the Indian settlers were fighting for more rights, this Act was passed and it has taken away even those rights enjoyed by them previously.

"Then, Sir, coming to the amendment I have moved, this matter is fit to be taken before the U.N.O. After all, we can only recommend to the Central Government that this matter may be taken to the U.N.O. While we cannot do it ourselves, we can make a recommendation to the Central Government. Then, Sir, even though we are competent to make such a recommendation, it may be asked how this matter which concerns the internal administration of Ceylon can be taken there. I agree that only a dispute between two independent countries can go before the U.N.O. and not matters relating to internal administration of any country. Why then, Sir, was the question of South Africa taken to the U.N.O.? This question is the same as the South African Indian question, though in South Africa it is racial discrimination that is practised. Events in Ceylon in recent times and the statements made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, and the Home Minister of Ceylon have taken the question to the level of the South African Indian question. The Home Minister of Ceylon, in a statement in connexion with the satyagraha started by the Indians there, has threatened us that he cannot guarantee the safety of the Indian nationals in Ceylon. That is the statement that he has made. I am, therefore, only making a reasonable demand that this question be brought before the United Nations Organization.

3 p.m. "Recently, the Prime Minister of Ceylon made an election speech in which he made certain allegations against the Indians settled there. It looked as though it was an election stunt. He said that he cannot tolerate these 'Kuppuswamis and Ramaswamis' enter the Parliament of Ceylon. Ceylon is a member of the Commonwealth. As such, I am not able to understand such statements being made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Is this not racial discrimination, I ask? The people of Ceylon have no programme to put before the people during this election, to catch the imagination of the people, the voters. That is why I think they are creating this bogey of Indians in Ceylon. I feel that we can take this matter to the U.N.O. When Indians are threatened in that manner in another country, we cannot shut

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our eyes and keep quiet without taking any action. When Indians are humiliated there, we must take up the matter immediately and do something in the matter.

" Though a small country, Ceylon is our neighbour and we love that country, we love the people of that country and we want that country to prosper. We are no enemies of Ceylon. Only we want that a peaceful solution to this question should be found and Indians who have gone there and who have been there for generations, who have not even seen this land, should be given the citizenship right. We only request the Ceylon Government not to deny the right of citizenship to Indians in Ceylon. With these words I move my amendment and hope that the Hon. the Leader of the House will add my amendment to the resolution."

* DR. K. B. MENON :— It is unfortunate, Sir, that the cordial relations that existed between India and Ceylon have been brought to a breaking point on the eve of the elections in Ceylon, on an issue on which, I am sure, world opinion will not be on the side of Ceylon. If this proposition had been brought before the Ceylon Parliament before it was prorogued, probably that Parliament would have found a solution acceptable to both sides. It was not done. Now the Prime Minister of Ceylon is taking refuge under sentimentalism and technicalities. Was that a mere mistake or an accident? Judging from the utterances of the Prime Minister of Ceylon at the various public meetings in Ceylon where he has said that he would not like to have these 'Ramaswamis and Kuppaswamis' returned to Parliament, I am afraid he is trying to tickle the nationalism of the Ceylon nationals. That is a trick that is generally played by the ruling classes to capture and exploit their sentiments in their own interests. It is not something which is uncommon to us. The British people played on the sentimentality of our people and we have paid dearly for it. We have lost a part of India as a result of that.

" Sir, after all, the eight lakhs of people who have gone to Ceylon, went there at the invitation of the people of Ceylon. They have been there for a long time. They have worked for Ceylon. They have done everything for Ceylon. And now they feel it is their duty to apply for the citizenship of Ceylon. It is only fair to expect the people of Ceylon and the Prime Minister of Ceylon to accept and acknowledge the rights of Indians in Ceylon. If this is not done and if certain bogies and objections are raised by them the question naturally arises, 'Why is it that they are doing all this?' I am afraid the only answer I can find for that is, to divert the attention of the people from the main issues at stake in the elections. By raising this issue of Indian immigrants in Ceylon claiming their citizenship rights, he has very successfully diverted the attention of the voting public from the main economic and political issues that ought to loom large in any election campaign. To that extent I feel the Prime Minister of Ceylon and his party have succeeded in the game.

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"Now where is a solution for this problem to be found? Is the solution to be sought in the United Nations Organization, or is it to be expected to come from the Prime Minister of Ceylon? The eight lakhs of people who ask for citizenship rights are poor people, common people and therefore our appeal also should be to the common people of Ceylon, the workers and the poor peasants of Ceylon and not to the State. I am sure the people of Ceylon will back up the cause of the Indians in Ceylon and find a satisfactory solution."

SRI K. T. KOSALRAM :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே! இலங்கையில் வாழ்கின்ற எட்டு லக்ஷம் இந்தியர்களுக்கும், அவர்களது பிறப்புரிமையாகிய, பிரஜா உரிமையாகிய மேலா நிரிமைமைப் கொடுக்க இலங்கை சர்க்கார் தவறி விட்டதின் காரணமாக இன்று இச் சபையிலே கொண்டுவந்துள்ள தீர்மானத் தைப்பற்றி கனம் மந்திரி அவர்களும், மற்ற அங்கத்தினர்களும் பேசினார்கள். அந்த அக்கிரமமான ஒரு செயலை எதிர்த்து இன்று காந்திய முறையில் போராடுகின்ற சத்தியாக்ஷிகளுக்கு அனுதாபம் தெரிவிக்கும் ஒரு பகுதியும் அந்தத் தீர்மானத்தில் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. உண்மையிலேயே இந்தியாவில் வாழும் இந்தியர்களைவிட இலங்கையிலே வாழ்கின்ற மக்கள் தான் அவர்களிடம் அதிகமாக அனுதாபம் காட்டக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள்.

“எனென்றால் சுமார் ஐம்பது வருஷ காலத்திற்கு முன்னால் இலங்கை இந்திய மாபாணத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாகவே இருந்தது. காரும், மலையுமாக அப்போது இலங்கை இருந்தது. சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாக இருந்த அந்த இலங்கை மிகவும் பிற்பாக்கான நிலையில் இருப்பதைக் கண்டு அட்பொழுது இருந்த மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் இங்கே இருந்த இந்திய மக்களுக்கு ஒரு சரியான உறுதிமொழி கொடுத்து ‘நான் இலங்கைக்குப்போய் அதை வளமையும், செழுமையும் உள்ளதாக ஆக்குங்கள். இலங்கை செழுமைபற்றதாக இருந்தால் அது சென்னை மாகாணத்தையே பாதிக்கின்றது’ என்று சொன்னதன்பேரிலேயே இவ்வருந்து இந்தியர்கள் இலங்கைக்குக் கப்பலேற்றப்பட்டார்கள். இலங்கை சென்ற இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் இரத்தத்தைச் சித்தி பகலும் இரவுமாக வேலை செய்ததின் காரணத்தால்தான் இன்று இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு தேயிலை தோட்டங்களிலிருந்தும் ரப்பர் தோட்டங்களிலிருந்தும் 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் வந்துகொண்டிருக்கின்றது. இந்த 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் இல்லையானால், இன்று இலங்கை அரசாங்கமே இருந்திருக்க முடியாது. நம் நாட்டு இந்தியர்கள் இலங்கையிலே போய் குடியேறி இரத்தத்தைச் சித்தி உழைக்கவில்லையானால், இந்த 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வந்துகொண்டிருக்காது. அப்படி நாட்டை வளமைப்படுத்தி, செழுமைப்படுத்தி அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வருமானம் வாங்கித்தந்த எட்டு லக்ஷம் தமிழர்களுக்குதான் இன்று இலங்கை அரசாங்கம் பிரஜா உரிமை கொடுக்க முறுக்கின்றது. இது மிகவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க நன்றிகெட்ட செய்கையாகும். இந்தமாதிரியான ஒரு விஷயத்தில் என நண்பர் ராவ் அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள் ‘அங்கே வாழும் இந்தியர்களுக்கு சரியான தீர்ப்பு அளிக்கப்படவேண்டும், அல்லது அவர்களைத் தாய் நாட்டிற்குத் திருப்பி அழைத்துவிடவேண்டும்’ மென அவர்கள் கூறிய யோசனையை நானும் முழுமனதோடு ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.

“அதிரூட்ட வசமாக சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் முதன் மந்திரியாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இப்போது வந்திருக்கிறார். மத்திய சர்க்காரினும் அவர் பதவி வகித்து வந்திருக்கிறார். இலங்கைக்கும் அவர் நேரிடையே சென்று பார்த்திருக்கிறார். அங்கேயுள்ள இந்தியர்களின் நிலை என்னவென்று அவருக்கு நான் எடுத்துச்சொல்ல வேண்டியதில்லை. அங்கேயுள்ள இந்தியர்களின் உரிமை பரிகப்படுமேமானால் அதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டு எந்தத் தமிழனும் இங்கே சுமமா இருக்கமாட்டான். இலங்கை சர்க்காரைக்

12th May 1952] [Sri K. T. Kosalam]

கைப்பற்றிய அட்லிகளும் டட்லிகளும் பதவிக்கு வந்தவுடனேயே சட்ட சபையிலே ஒரு தொண்டைமாதே ஒரு அஜீலோ, சுப்ரமணியமே ஒரு தமிழை வருவதை நான் பார்த்துக்கொண்டு சும்மா இருக்கமாட்டேன் என்பதாக பதிரங்கமாக தேர்தல் கூட்டங்களிலே இந்தியர்களுக்கு விரோதமாகப் பேசுவதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். இந்தியர்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்படும் பிரஜா உரிமையைப் பறிக்க அந்த சர்க்கார் பலவந்தமான செயல்களிலே ஈடுபடும் பொழுது நம்முடைய இந்திய ஹை கமிஷனர் அங்கே இருந்தகொண்டு என்ன செய்கிறார் என்றே தெரியவில்லை. பொதுவாக இலங்கைக்கு நியமிக்கப்படும் ஹை கமிஷனர்கள் திறமை மிக்கவர்களாகவும் தமிழர்களுடைய உரிமைகளைக் காப்பாற்றுவதற்காக போரிடக்கூடியவர்களாகவும் இருக்கும் படி இந்திய சர்க்கார் கவனித்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டியது மிகவும் அவசியமாகும். இன்று இந்தியர்களுக்குப் பிரஜா உரிமையும் வழங்க மறுத்து விட்டு இலங்கை சர்க்கார் பொதுத் தேர்தலை நடத்துவதற்கு வேண்டிய தீவிரமான நடவடிக்கைகளில் இறங்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். இவ்வழக்கை சர்வதேசக் கோரிடாக்குக் கொண்டு போகும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். நாமும் காமன்வெல்தில் இருக்கிறோம். இலங்கையும் காமன்வெல்தின் கீழுள்ள நாடுதான். அதனால் மிகவும் தாராளமாக இந்த விஷயத்தை உலகக் கோர்ட்டுக்குக் கொண்டுபோய் பொதுத் தேர்தல் அங்கு நடக்காது படி உடனடியான தடை உத்தரவு போடுவதற்கு வேண்டிய ஏற்பாடுகளையும் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த விஷயமாக இந்திய சர்க்கார் அவர்களுக்கும் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சரியானபடி 'அவைஸ்' பண்ணவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“ இன்னும் ஒரு ஒரு விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி எடுத்துக் கூற விரும்புகிறேன். நம் நாட்டுச் சர்க்காரர்களான 8 லட்சம் இந்தியர்கள் இன்று இலங்கையில் இருப்பதால்தான் இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் வருவதை எப்பதை யாரும் மறுக்கமுடியாது. அந்த 8 லட்சம் இந்தியர்களையும் உடனடியாக இந்தியாவுக்குத் தருவித்து விட்டால், அந்த அரசாங்கத்திற்குக் கிடைத்துவரும் அத்தனை ரூபாயும் நிச்சயமாக விரயமாகிவிடுமென்பதை நான் சொல்லுவேன். அகில இந்திய காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டிக் கூட்டத்தில் ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நேருஜி அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள், அப்பொழுது கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களும் அங்கே இருந்தார்கள், இலங்கையிலுள்ள நம்நாட்டு மக்களின் பிரஜா உரிமை பறிக்கப்படுமென்பதனால் நான் சும்மாயிருக்கமாட்டேன். அவர்களுக்குள்ள உரிமை சரியாக வழங்கப்படவேண்டும். இல்லையென்றால் அவர்கள் தாய் நாட்டுக்குத் திரும்பி அழைக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்பதாக அவர் சொல்லியதை யாரும் மறந்திருக்க முடியாது. இன்னொன்றும் சொல்லுகிறேன். பாகிஸ்தான்விருந்து இன்று லட்சக்கணக்கான அகதிகளை நாம் திருப்பி அழைத்து அவர்களுக்கு இங்கே இருக்க இடமளிக்கவில்லையா? சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் மாதிரும் இன்று 10 ஆயிரம் அகதிகள் வந்திருக்கிறார்களே. அதைப்போலவே இன்று இலங்கையிலுள்ள நம் இந்தியர்கள் யாவரையும் திருப்பி அழைத்துவிட வேண்டியதுதான் மிகவும் முக்கியமான காரியம். அப்படி திருப்பி அழைத்துவிட்டால் நிச்சயமாக இலங்கை சர்க்காருக்குக் கிடைத்து வரும் நூறு கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானமும் நின்றுபோய்விடும். அதிலிருக்கும் இந்த விஷயத்தை நம் நாட்டுத் தலைவர்கள் யாருமே புரிந்து கொள்ளவில்லையென்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன். நம் நாட்டு இந்தியர்கள், இப்போது அங்கே உள்ளவர்கள் நிச்சயமாக சோம்பேறிகள் அல்ல. இலங்கையிலுள்ள காடுகளையும், மலைகளையும் அழித்து அதை செழிப்புள்ள ரப்பர் தோட்டங்களாகவும், தேயிலை தோட்டங்களாகவும் ஆக்கிய உழைப்பாளி மக்கள் அவர்கள். அவர்களை திருப்பி இந்தியாவுக்கே அழைத்தாலும் அவர்கள் இங்கேயுள்ள காடுகளையெல்லாம் நன்றாக விவசாய நிலமாக்கிப் பாடுபட்டு உழைத்து நிச்சயமாக நம் நாட்டு உற்பத்திப் பொருளை பெருக்குவார்கள். அதில் யாருமே சந்தேகப்படவேண்டியதில்லை. அதனால் அங்கேயிருக்கும் எட்டு லட்சம் தமிழர்களும் திருப்பி அழைக்கப்படுவார்களேயானால் எப்படி அவர்கள் ஜீவிக் வாயி செய்வது என்பதைப் பற்றிக் கவலைப்படவேண்டாம். குறிப்பாக அங்கே வாழும் இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் தாயகமாகிய இந்தியாவில் வாழும் மக்கள் தங்கள் விஷயமாக என்ன செய்யப்போகிறார்களோ என்று

[Sri K. T. Kosalram]

[12th May 1952]

ஆவலோடு எதிர்பார்த்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். சாத்வீக முறையிலும் போராட்டம் நடத்த ஆரம்பித்திருக்கிறார்கள். இலங்கை அரசாங்கம் அவர்களிடம் சரியான முறையிலே நடக்கத் தவறிவிட்டது. இந்த இக்கட்டான நிலையில் நாம் அவர்களுக்கு சரியானபடி உதவி செய்து அவர்கள் நம் மீது வைத்திருக்கும் நம்பிக்கைக்குப் பாத்திரமாக வேண்டும். நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ சாமி நாதன் அவர்கள் சொன்னதுபோல உலகக் கோர்ட்டுக்கு உடனடியாக இவ் விஷயத்தை எடுத்துச் சென்று அங்கே தேர்தல் நடக்காதபடி தடுக்க தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இந்தியப் பிரதம மந்திரி நேருஜி அவர்களை வலியுறுத்திக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இலங்கை அரசாங்கம் சுதந்திர நாடாக இருக்கிறது. பண்டார நாயகர் அங்கேயிருக்கும் தமிழர்களுக்கு இருக்கின்ற எல்லா உரிமைகளையும் பறித்து விடுவதற்குக் கங்கணம் கட்டிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார். இலங்கை சுதந்திரம் அடைந்தபோதிலும் அங்கேயிருக்கின்ற அமெரிக்க ஆங்கில முதலாளிகளிடம் அவர்கள் சம்பம் எதுவும் காட்ட முடியவில்லை. ஆனால் இலங்கையில் மிக அருகில் இருக்கும் இந்திய நாட்டின் கூலி மக்களிடம் அவர்கள் நடந்து கொள்ளும் முறை மிகவும் வெட்கப்பத்த தக்கதாகும். நாமும் அதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டு வாளாவிருப்பது மிகவும் சரியான முறையல்ல. இன்று இலங்கையிலுள்ள எட்டு லட்சம் தமிழர்களும் அவ்வரசாங்கத்தின் நடத்தைக்கு எதிராக போராட்டம் அவசியமிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு உதவி செய்ய எங்கள் திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டத்திலிருந்து மாதந்திரம் பல்லாயிரக் கணக்கான மக்கள் இலங்கை செல்ல ஒவ்வொரு நிமிஷமும் துடித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் அங்கே செல்ல இந்திய அரசாங்கம் பாஸ் போர்டு கொடுத்த உதவி செய்யாவிட்டாலும் பரவாயில்லை. வாயை மூடிக்கொண்டு சும்மா இருந்தாலே போதுமானது. கடற்கரை யோரமாக உள்ள அதிகாரிகளை மொஞ்சம் கண்ணை மூடிக்கொண்டிருங்கள் என்று சொல்லி விட்டாலே போதுமானது. திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்ட மக்கள் அங்கே சென்று கார்தீய முறையில், அடர்ச்சா முறையில் அவர்கள் நடத்தும் போராட்டத்திற்கு தங்களாலான உதவிகளை எல்லாம் கொடுத்து அவர்கள் போராட்டம் வெற்றியடைய எல்லாவற்றையும் செய்வார்கள். ஆகையினால் நான் கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்கள் மிகவும் தாழ்மையாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்வது இது தான். இலங்கை செல்ல விரும்புவோர்களுக்கு பாஸ் போர்ட் உடனே கொடுங்கள். இல்லையானால் கட்டுக்கரைப் பக்கமுள்ள அதிகாரிகளை கண்ணை மூடிக்கொண்டு சும்மா பேசாமல் இருக்கச் சொல்லுங்கள். என்ன நடக்கிற தென்பதை பின்னர் பார்த்துக் கொள்ளலாம், என்பது தான்.

“இலங்கைக்குச் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிக் கொடுத்தவர்கள் இந்தியர்கள்தான். இதை இலங்கை சர்க்காரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. வேறு யாரும் மறக்க முடியாது. அப்படி இலங்கைக்கே சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிக்கொண்ட போராடிய இந்தியர்களுக்கு இப்போது பிரஜா உரிமை கொடுக்க மறுக்கப்படும்கூட அதை இந்தியா பேசாமல் பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருந்தால் இந்தியாவுக்கு அதை எதிர்க்க தைரியம் இல்லையென்றே அர்த்தமாகிவிடும். அதற்காக குறிப்பாக ஒரே ஒரு விஷயத்தை கனம் மந்திரி அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லுகிறேன். மனப்படி ஸ்ரீ கிரி அவர்கள் இந்திய ஸ்தானிகராக அங்கே இருந்தார்கள். இப்போது ஸ்ரீ மேனன் இருக்கிறார்கள். யாரும் அங்கேயுள்ள தமிழர்களின் நலன்களைக் குறித்துப் பாடுபடுவதாகவே தெரியவில்லை. வெளி நாடுகளுக்கு ஸ்தானிகரை நியமித்தால் அவர்கள் தங்கள் நாட்டு மக்களின் உரிமைகளை முதலில் பாதுகாக்கப் பாடுபடக் கூடியவர்களாக இருக்கவேண்டியது மிகவும் அவசியமாகும். அதனால், இலங்கைக்கும் சரியான ஸ்தானிகரை நியமித்து அங்குள்ள தமிழர்களின் உரிமைகளைப் பாதுகாத்துக் கொள்ள தக்க வழியைச் செய்யுமாறு கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி நேருஜி அவர்களை கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இந்த தீர்மானத்தை முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.”

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supporting the main motion and opposing the amendment moved by my friend Sri R. V. Swaminathan. Although for the purpose of playing to the gallery, the Hon. Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam stated the other day that the role of the Opposition is to oppose each and everything for the sake of opposing at any time and every time, whether it is good or bad, I, as one belonging to the Opposition can say that we are here to make the Treasury Benches become wise and sober. We are not here to oppose anything for the sake of mere opposition. If the hon. Members sitting on the Treasury Benches would go through the amendments moved to the motion on the Address of His Excellency they would find notice of an amendment by my friend Mr. Balakrishna Servai. He was then very hesitating and at one time he even thought of withdrawing the amendment. But since there was no conciliatory reply from the Treasury Benches he did not withdraw his amendment but pressed it to a vote. I am glad at least today we are supporting this motion which is before the House.

" Let us realize that when we are supporting the motion championing the cause of the citizens of Ceylon of Indian origin, we are also supporting the cause of democracy in Ceylon. These eight lakhs of Indians who are now denied citizenship rights in Ceylon are mostly people employed in the tea and rubber estates owned mostly by the British people. Before the attainment of Independence, the British were ruling Ceylon. Their policy of divide and rule has not even now ended in Ceylon. If the British interests in Ceylon are to be protected they can carry on only by their life-long policy of divide and rule. This is the secret behind the denial of citizenship rights to the Indians settled there. Their attempt is to divide the forces of democracy in Ceylon. We should not forget this fact when we deal with this problem.

" The Indians who have settled there and who have contributed so much for the development of Ceylon are now denied their legitimate rights. Their interests are identical with those of the Ceylonese people themselves. Naturally we could expect support from the Ceylonese people themselves for the cause of Indians. Even the democratic parties in Ceylon are supporting the cause of these eight lakhs of unfortunate Indians. In spite of all these, the ruling classes in Ceylon are adamant in denying citizenship rights to our unfortunate brethren. For this unfortunate state of affairs the foreign policy of the Indian Government requires examination.

" An amendment has been given notice of by my friend Mr. R. V. Swaminathan that the matter be referred to the United Nations Organization. We have had bitter experience of the United Nations through our Kashmir issue. We know what is going to happen to Kashmir ultimately and we also know what is going to be the attitude of the people of Kashmir towards India. We gain nothing in inviting the United Nations Organization to interfere in our affairs. This is a similar matter between the people of India and the people of Ceylon. Reference of this issue

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to the United Nations Organization would mean an invitation to the Imperialists to interfere in our affairs, and to increase the bitterness between India and Ceylon. The Hon. Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam may oppose the amendment of Mr. R. V. Swaminathan for different reasons. Possibly he may object to the amendment on the ground that such an action on our part may embarrass the Central Government. But I am not concerned with the Central Government or this Government, with this party or that. I am concerned with the legitimate interests of the people of Ceylon. While supporting the cause of the Indians in Ceylon we should raise our voice against ill-treatment meted out by the Imperialists to our brethren whether in Malaya or Africa or Burma or Indonesia. This problem is closely linked with the freedom struggle of the natives of all these countries over the colonial rule. If we keep in mind what is happening to our people in Malaya and take proper action, that will be heartening to our brethren in Ceylon. If we keep mum, then the ruling classes in Ceylon will be emboldened to exploit our people still more. I should say that for all these unfortunate happenings our foreign policy is to be blamed.

"I also wish to make one more submission. There are nearly eight lakhs of Indians who are now denied the fundamental right of citizenship in spite of their having taken Ceylon as their motherland. We must also demarcate from them certain other kinds of people who claim equal facilities with the Indians but who in reality are making huge fortunes at the expense of the Ceylonese people. We should never support the claim of such kind of people who do good neither to our fair name nor to Ceylon.

"Sir, I think I have made my points clear. With these words, I support the main motion moved by the Hon. Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam and oppose the amendment given notice of by my friend, Mr. R. V. Swaminathan. In conclusion, I wish to observe, Sir, that we, the members of the Opposition, are here not to oppose everything and speak empty words but to make the Government wise and sober. We do not believe in empty threats, nor are we going to be cowed down by the threats."

* DR. P. VARADARAJULU NAIDU :—"Mr. Speaker, the question of refusal of citizenship rights to the Indians in Ceylon is not a simple question; it has a great political importance. During the last fifty years, the British who had been ruling Ceylon knowing that we Indians would ultimately be free, wanted to create anti-Indian feeling either on communal basis or on religious basis or on territorial basis. In these three things, they succeeded. As a result of such a policy by Britain even in Burma, we are all aware how our people were driven from that country. Next comes Ceylon. In South Africa, the condition is really worse. Some of my friends have written to me that they would be returning to India very soon. A great danger is involved when the Ceylon Government refuses to give our people their elementary right of citizenship.

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" The British or any other nation in the world think that South Indians, like the Scotch people, are the most intelligent, and wherever they go, whether to Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, or Africa, or even to America, they come forward very well. Not only as labourers have they succeeded in establishing a reputation as hard-working wage-earners, but as businessmen also they have come up very well. But, now the question involved is merely political. 3-33 p.m.

" Sir, when I had been to Ceylon in 1937 to preside over the Tamilar Conference in that country, I said, in my speech at Kandy, that, when India got freedom, Ceylon should be our naval base. Now, it is going out of our influence. Ceylon had been part of our country for centuries. Those who have watched the history of the development of Ceylon will see that particularly the Tamilians have done yeoman service to that country. Even to-day in the Colombo Museum, there is a crown and a special throne depicting Tamil culture, which shows that the civilization of Ceylon is based entirely on Tamil culture. Now, they want to send the Indians away, not because they are not wanted there, but because the British people do not want the Indian sphere of influence to spread in any of the neighbouring countries of India.

" Then, Sir, to add to our troubles, in Pakistan we are not wanted; we are not wanted in upper India where there is a distinct dislike of Madras; in Ceylon we are not wanted; and in Burma we are not wanted. Therefore, Sir, we must take serious note of the situation. Again, Sir, we are supposed to be members of the Commonwealth. A grave doubt has come into my mind whether it is worth while to be in the Commonwealth when they are not able to protect our people within the Commonwealth. Therefore, I think a time may come when we have to disown our relationship with the Commonwealth entirely.

" Now, Sir, however much we differ from the Communists and the Soviet policy in countries within the Russian sphere of influence, we do not have this kind of disparity or distinction created or communalism fomented. Whenever the British have had their influence, we are now eating the bitter fruits of their influence. Therefore, Sir, there is no use taking our case before the U.N.O. as suggested by an hon. Member. U.N.O. is a huge fraud played on the world. The U.N.O. was created after the Second World War. After the First World War, they had what they called the League of Nations; and the Second World War brought forth the U.N.O. We have had bitter experience as regards taking our case before the U.N.O. You know what happened in the case of Kashmir. They are not going to solve the Kashmir problem during our lifetime; they will keep it perpetually burning, so that we do not come together. So, Sir, in regard to the suggestion that we may take the Ceylon question before the U.N.O., I hope that mistake will not be committed. Sir, the solution of the problem lies in the hands of the Government of India. If the Government of India and the Government of Madras cannot have the courage to solve the problem, I can say with all the force I can command

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that the time will come when the Tamilians will take their armies to that country and rescue our people. With these words, I support the resolution."

* SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—Mr. Speaker, Sir, my amendment to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for his Address contained a similar object, but unfortunately, it got miscarried. Of course, it was not intended to carry a negative sense or even remotely to imply a censure. It was, on the other hand, purely informative and suggestive and nothing more. It was intended to convey to the Government of India the anxiety of the people of the Madras State who rightly feel that they are connected with their compatriots in Ceylon who are involved in the Satyagraha movement.

" Sir, the Ceylon Indian problem is essentially a Ceylon-Madras problem, because 95 per cent, if not more, of the people involved are all descendents of the original inhabitants of the Madras State. Though my amendment to the motion of thanks fell through, I am, however, happy at the appearance of this resolution. The situation in which I am, now could best be described by quoting the famous Tamil homely story of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law for the benefit of the non-Tamil Members of the House. The arrival of a new daughter-in-law provoked the mother-in-law so much that the mother-in-law, seeing a beggar in front of her daughter-in-law with a begging bowl receiving grains from her, and feeling zealous of her own rights over the house, rushed to the beggar, turned the bowl upside down and reprimanded her daughter-in-law. Not content with that, to display her right, she herself took a handful of grains and put them into the bowl. In the same manner, the Government were unwilling to allow my amendment with the same object to go through, but have now come forward with this resolution to their credit. Irrespective of the authors, I welcome this resolution and I support the main motion wholeheartedly.

" Now, Sir, coming to the resolution itself, it is somewhat obscure and little wide of the mark—mere verbal sympathies and no concrete suggestions. The question of the citizenship of Ceylon has been once for all decided and it has been accepted by the Ceylon Government, by the Government of India and the Ceylon Indian Congress. They have defined their laws, just as each country according to its needs and conditions has stipulated who shall be admitted to its citizenship and who shall not be. Every independent country has its own laws of citizenship. All citizenship laws of the countries in the world are not uniform. For instance, myself, though of Ceylon origin 100 per cent, had to obtain Indian citizenship right according to the Indian laws and I had to go through all the required proofs and formalities of the laws of India. No doubt, the citizenship laws of Ceylon are rigorous and severe compared to those of some other countries. Can we blame Ceylon because their laws are severe and rigorous while our laws are easy

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and not difficult? The Ceylon laws cannot be easily complied with and are beyond the capacity of our ordinary folk who are there for centuries and generations.

"The immediate issue has passed beyond the principle of citizenship and is not immediately concerned with the eight or nine lakhs of Ceylon Indians. Of these several lakhs of Indians who were given time to apply for citizenship, only about 2½ lakhs of Indians applied; and of these, nine thousands have been registered. The bone of contention is with regard to these 2½ lakhs of applicants who were on the electoral registers at the time of the last elections, but are now omitted. Before Ceylon obtained Dominion Independence under the Donoughmore Commission scheme, every resident in Ceylon who had lived there for five years previously and six months immediately before the registration of voters, was given the right of franchise and on that basis a large number of estate labourers living in estates found their names on the voting registers; and consequently many Ceylon Indians—as many as seven—were able to find seats in the Ceylon Parliament and two or three more non-Indians with sympathies for Ceylon Indians also got elected with the support of Indian voters. In independent Ceylon with her rigorous laws, the once enfranchized Indian voters became disfranchized and the chance of even a single Indian getting elected was nullified and the political power of Indians to influence the policy of Ceylon was automatically lost. This, in short is the present situation that has overtaken the Ceylon Indians. The late Prime Minister, Mr. Don Senanayake died suddenly. His son, the Minister for Agriculture—Mr. Dudley Senanayake was appointed to succeed his father as Prime Minister, and after ten days of office as Prime Minister, he dissolved the Parliament to obtain the mandate of his people for his succession to his father as the Prime Minister. With the Indian names out of the registers, and with the two lakhs and odd applications pending, the general elections in Independent Ceylon, for the first time excludes Indians. The Indians were taken by surprise and for the first time statutorily, they have become ineligible and are political outcasts, and naturally an unhappy situation has arisen for our people. Constitutional protests were made without any success. As a last resort Satyagraha was decided upon. I witnessed the inauguration of the Satyagraha. I watched its operation for a week from day to day. It must be said to the credit of the Satyagrahis and their supporters that the satyagraha was absolutely peaceful and perfectly non-violent in thought, word and deed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, as an observer and as one who is genuinely interested in cordial Indo-Ceylon relations, and who is publicly and personally devoted to both countries—to Ceylon as the land of my birth and growth and to India as the land of my adoption and public life—I ascertained the impression of the Ceylonese people in tramcars, buses, roads, saloons, etc. The opinion of the indigenous people of the country was that the satyagraha, irrespective of the merits of citizenship—was most ill-timed and inopportune. The country is going through

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a general election and this is a time when passions are roused easily and tension quickly created, in which the majority people remember their rights only and forget their duties. A slight mishap or an indiscreet word or deed is bound to become exaggerated and enlarged publicly and the consequence is racial hostility and class animosity driving the partisans to violence and physical strife. That is one opinion I obtained from the indigenous people, from the highest to the lowest. These apprehensions are shared widely by many Indians and their representative institutions. It is for this reason that the Indian Mercantile Chamber of Commerce and the Nattukkottai Chettiars' Association are standing out. I also approached the leaders of the movement, Mr. Aziz and Mr. Tondaman, and discussed this matter with them on the verandah of the Prime Minister while they were at satyagraha. Their opinion was that the time factor was the making of the Ceylon Government. They, the Ceylon Indians, had been forced into this situation because, even while the applications were pending and the entire community was disfranchised, without giving any chances to those who have applied, the General Elections were being rushed through purposely to exclude even the small number who have chosen to apply for voting rights. This being the first General Elections in Independent Ceylon and the Indians who were born and who lived and laboured in the country as the heirs of their ancestors who have enriched the country, should feel pride and pleasure in participating in the elections of an Independent Ceylon. They do not want to go down in history as having just played the part of spectators: they would rather go down in history fighting non-violently for their rights than become insignificant and passive political outcasts. The satyagraha was born of this feeling a feeling, Mr. Speaker, that is just and inevitable with which, I am sure, every one in this House would agree.

" Sir, last year, in 1951, I casually discussed this matter—Ceylon Indian problem—with the present Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, who was then the Minister for Agriculture, under his father, Mr. Don Senanayake. The present Prime Minister, my one-time classmate and playmate at St. Thomas College, though then not connected directly with this question, observed that the Ceylon citizenship laws were equal and fair to all; that Indian had not been discriminated as such and that Ceylon would never be unfair and unjust to anybody, particularly to Indians.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, the immediate point is how best to effect an amicable settlement leading to the withdrawal of satyagraha. The General Elections should be over in a month and as the polling dates draw near, tension is bound to increase, tempo to aggravate, and recrimination to spread. Today's papers announce that 70 satyagrahis have been called up, and with the actual voting days fast approaching, feelings on both sides are bound to become enraged and embittered. Is this situation to continue, each day widening the gulf? If no solution is possible, at best the growing tension should be eased.

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" Mr. Speaker, Sir, Satyagraha in this country is entirely different to the movement in Ceylon. The backgrounds of the movements in India, Ceylon and South Africa are fundamentally different, though common objectively. In India we fought against foreign domination. In South Africa the indigenous South Africans made common cause with us against a microscopic minority of Whites. Whereas in Ceylon, non-Ceylonese—or at best those whose rights according to prescribed laws have yet to be recognized—are struggling against the nationals of the country at a time of public abnormality. This difference in background must not be lost sight of. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was born under a tea bush, grew on a tea estate; every inch of my body and every drop of my blood is of Ceylon origin, growth and development. I cannot contemplate any coldness and deterioration of feelings between Ceylon and India—between my natural mother and my adopted mother.

" Sir, two suggestions to break the situation were current in Colombo during my stay. One suggestion emanating from the Ceylonese side was to provide three representatives to the Ceylon Indians by nomination. The Ceylon Indian Congress is, on principle, definitely against representation by nomination. The other suggestion from the Ceylon Indian circles is to declare the seven Indian constituencies as dual-member constituencies and to have by-elections to these constituencies after the General Elections, on the 1949 electoral basis, thus enabling Indians to choose their representatives. This suggestion which concedes the Ceylon Indians' demand is considered to be impractical, since it involves constitutional changes.

" Sir, a deadlock exists, satyagraha continues, bitterness grows. I appeal to our Chief Minister to take up the matter with our Central Government and devise ways to stop the widening gulf. Many a difficult knot in this country has been untied by our Chief Minister.

" Sir, I suggest that a Goodwill Mission be sent from this country to Ceylon to meet both parties and evolve an amicable settlement. Let our anxieties be allayed. Let the cordiality and affinity that have existed through centuries between the two countries be not marred; let them grow and flourish. Let us pray for success to the cause of our compatriots in Ceylon. Let us with equal fervour pray for the emergence of our people from this ordeal without any bitterness or ill-will against the Ceylon people, should the object be not achieved who were on the electoral registers at the time of the last elections and who are now omitted.

" Sir, in this connexion, I would like to make one or two suggestions for a solution of the problem. While I say it, I want to refer to one proposal connected with an undertaking between the leaders of parties contesting the elections, namely, that constituencies where Indian settlers have lived—which are about seven or eight—shall be declared as dual-member constituencies and that after the general elections are over, a re-election be held for these constituencies and opportunity given to disfranchised Indians, to

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exercise their franchise and allow them to select their own men. It was also said that Indians might be nominated to Parliament. But, on this question of nomination, Mr. Tondaiman and Mr. Rajalingam were emphatic and they were not prepared to accept nomination. I would plead with the Hon. Chief Minister to make some concrete proposals to the Government of India, so that they may take up the question in right earnest and allay the anxieties of the people of the Madras State.

“ Sir, I am a man of Ceylon origin and every inch of my body and every drop of blood in my body owes its origin to Ceylon. The whole of the island consists of tea estates and I shall not like any diminution in the cordiality of feelings that exists between Ceylon and India and I am prepared to give my life for it. I would plead with the Hon. Chief Minister to see that the relationship between these two peoples, which is already deteriorating, does not deteriorate to an irretrievable extent.”

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p.m.

JANAB K. M. SEETHI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I whole-heartedly support the resolution which embodies the desire of the people of the Madras State to get bare justice at the hands of the Ceylon Government for the Ceylonese citizens who have the sin of their having been Indians at one time. The citizenship rights which our erstwhile countrymen and the present citizens of Ceylon claim should not be denied to them by any canon of justice or equity. Those countrymen are now suffering and struggling for getting justice done to them. The discrimination against Indians in various parts of the world affects our very self-respect. It is a dramatic irony that discrimination is shown against a people born in a country where a great sage was born who gave to Ceylon its religion and philosophy of which the Ceylonese are proud even to-day. It is a double irony that an Asiatic country like Ceylon, which should maintain good-neighbourly relations with India with which she has very many ties of kinship, should indulge in narrow ideas of nationalism and discriminate against Indian born citizens of Ceylon. As a matter of fact, the prosperity of Ceylon is the result of the contribution made by Indian labour and Indian trade and commerce. Sheer gratitude requires the Ceylonese to concede to the Indian born citizens of Ceylon, the citizenship right which they are now asking for. Indians did not go there as birds of passage to snatch certain advantages which they did not deserve. They went to Ceylon to settle permanently and shared in the weal or woe of that country. To deny franchise rights to full-fledged citizens of Ceylon is a denial of justice to a section of humanity. We have to do our utmost in expressing our sympathy and supporting the cause for which our erstwhile countrymen are struggling in Ceylon. As has been said by the hon. Member who just sat down, all conciliatory measures have to be adopted to find a peaceful settlement of this question. The High Commissioner of India in Ceylon was very conciliatory. He did his best to convert the Ceylon Government to a reasonable frame of mind, but failed. I believe the Government of India also are taking a conciliatory attitude and carrying on negotiations with the Ceylon Government

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for a peaceful solution of this problem. Though our attempts till now have failed, there is no reason to despair. We have to persevere in our attempts to find a peaceful settlement.

"If we accept the amendment for referring the matter to the U.N.O., I feel it may be taken by the outside world that we are not serious about it at all. When one does not feel about a matter seriously, a reference to the U.N.O. may be thought of. We have so many other ways for getting justice done to our countrymen. Till all these means are exhausted, we should not even think of the U.N.O. for settling this problem. I oppose the amendment and wholeheartedly support the main resolution."

SRI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, சிலோன் முன்பு ஒரு காலத்தில் சென்னை கவர்னருடைய ஆட்சியில் இருந்தது. அந்த விஷயங்களைப்பற்றி பல அங்கத்தினர்கள் எடுத்துக்கொண்டார்கள். சிலோனிலுள்ள காடுகளை அழிக்க இந்தியாவிலுள்ள வைசியர்களும், வட நாட்டு ஷேட்களும் தங்களுடைய பணத்தைக் கொட்டினார்கள். தமிழ் நாட்டிலுள்ள ஏழை ஜனங்கள் அந்த நாட்டிற்கு அந்தக் காலத்தில் சென்று அந்த நாட்டை வளம்பெறச் செய்து அந்த நாட்டை நல்ல ஸ்திதிக்குக் கொண்டுவந்தார்கள். நான் ஒரு சமயம் சிலோனுக்குச் சென்றிருந்தேன். அங்கு போய் பார்த்தபோது நம்முடைய தமிழ் நாட்டு ஜனங்கள் அங்கு வேலைசெய்யும் பொருட்டு குளிரில் தேயிலை தோட்டத்தில் கீழே உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டும், படுத்துக்கொண்டும், நிற்கும்படியாகவும் இருந்துகொண்டிருந்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது அவர்களை கண்ணால் பார்த்தேன். அவ்விதம் அந்த நாட்டை நல்ல நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டுவந்தவர்களுக்கு நன்றி பாராட்டாமல் அந்த நாட்டு சர்க்கார் இருப்பது மிகவும் விசனிக்கத்தக்க விஷயமாகும். உலகம் எல்லாம் சுதந்தரம் அடைந்துவரும் இந்த சமயத்தில் இந்தியர்களுக்கு சிலோன் கவர்ன்மெண்டு உரிமையைக் கொடுக்க தவறி விட்டது. அது மிகவும் விசனிக்கத்தக்கதாக இருக்கிறது. அங்கே கனம் கே. நேசே அய்யர், ‘ஆனரபிள்,’ மெம்பராக இருந்தார் அந்த காலத்தில். அவரும் வோட்டுப்பெற்றும் வந்தார். அவருக்கு இப்பொழுது உரிமை எவ்வாறு போனது என்பது தெரியவில்லை. இந்தியர்களை விரட்டிவிட வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்துடன் இப்போது அங்கே இந்த வேலையைச் செய்கிறார்கள். ஆகையிலும் இங்கே இருக்கும் நம்முடைய சென்னை கவர்ன்மெண்டின் முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் அதற்கு தீவிரமான முயற்சி எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் உடனே அவர்கள் பணிவார்கள். அவர்களும் உடனே பணியத்தானவேண்டும். கனம் கோசல்ராம் அவர்கள் சொன்னமாதிரி அங்கே இலங்கையிலுள்ள 8 லட்சம் இந்தியர்களையும் இங்கே வரவழைத்து காப்பாற்ற வேண்டுமென்றால் அது முடியாத காரியம். ஆனால் அவர்கள் இங்கு வந்தால், சிலோன் கவர்ன்மெண்டு கவிழ்ந்துபோய்விடும். இலங்கை இந்தியர்களுக்கு இங்கே பிழைப்புக்கு வசதி கிடைப்பாது. ஏற்கனவே அவர்கள் இங்கு பிழைப்பு இல்லாமல் அந்தக் காலத்தில் மலேயா, பர்மா முதலிய இடங்களுக்கும் சிலோனுக்கும் போய் குடியேறினார்கள். அவ்விதம் அங்கு குடியேரியும் இப்பொழுது அவர்களுக்கு அங்கே உரிமை கிடைக்கவில்லை. அங்குள்ளவர்களைக் காப்பாற்ற இந்தியா கவர்ன்மெண்டும், சென்னை கவர்ன்மெண்டும் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு சிலோனிலுள்ள ஜனங்களுக்கு உரிமைகளை வாங்கிக் கொடுக்கும்படி கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இந்த தீர்மானத்தை முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.”

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion. I have a special responsibility to support this motion because not less than ten thousand Indians in Ceylon are from my constituency. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, said that the Indians had one leg in Ceylon and another leg elsewhere. I think he wants to make the

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people misunderstand the whole position. There are several lakhs of Indians in Ceylon. All of them are not demanding the franchise right; only those who have chosen to be citizens of Ceylon and have made Ceylon their home are demanding this elementary human right. It is the duty of every democratic citizen of the world to raise his voice in support of the cause of these Indians. Democratic opinion in Ceylon is already rising in favour of the Indians there and certain parties there have expressed themselves in favour of the Indian cause. I think the Government of Ceylon have a definite motive in denying the franchise right to the Indians in Ceylon. Ceylon for long has been a colony of British Imperialism and she still continues to be so. Economically Ceylon is still dominated by British Imperialists, British planters, British bankers and British capitalists. The people of Ceylon are fighting against British imperialism for the attainment of real independence and democracy. The Ceylon Government want to misrepresent to the people that the Indians are responsible for some of their troubles and not the Britishers, and thereby divert the attention of the people from their struggle for real independence. As was said by my hon. Friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram, in supporting the demands of Indians in Ceylon, we are voicing the cause of democracy, the cause of the struggle of the people of Ceylon for real freedom.

“ With regard to the amendment, I think, that nothing can be achieved by referring the matter to the U.N.O. We have already referred the Kashmir question to that body and it is delaying a solution of this question indefinitely. We find that imperialists want to divide the two neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan. If this question is taken to the U.N.O., the imperialists, mainly the American imperialists who are dominating that body, will adopt their old policy of divide and rule and will never solve this problem satisfactorily and quickly. We know that the traditional policy of America is to exterminate the Negroes and Red Indians there and the American-dominated U.N.O. will never fight for the just cause of Indians in Ceylon. So I oppose the amendment and wholeheartedly support the motion. I extend the good wishes of the people of this State to the struggle of the Ceylonese people for real independence. Application of coercion or economic sanctions or reference of the matter to the U.N.O. will not solve the problem. Only by the creation of democratic opinion throughout the world, a real and lasting solution can be found to this problem of the denial of the just civic rights to the Indians in Ceylon.”

* SRI K. R. VISWANATHAN :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I give my wholehearted support to the Government motion expressing sympathy and offering support to the unfortunate Ceylonese Indians in their struggle to establish the rights of citizenship. This message of sympathy, will be a great source of strength and enthusiasm to the struggling people. We learn that by adopting the 1950 list of voters instead of the 1951 voters list though belated for the conduct of general elections in Ceylon, the Ceylon Government

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have denied franchise rights to 8 or 9 lakhs of Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin. I may remind the Madras Government that 80 to 90 per cent of the Indians in Ceylon are Tamilians or at least from Madras and hence the responsibility of the Madras Government for securing to our unfortunate brethren their legitimate rights becomes all the greater.

“ Though this matter has been there for well over a year, the Government of India did not intervene quickly to effect a settlement in favour of the Indian in Ceylon. They raised their protest through the High Commissioner of India in Ceylon only at the last moment when the Ceylon Government had come to a decision about the matter. The Government of India's suggestion to issue an ordinance, since the Parliament of Ceylon was not in session, to protect the rights of Indians was not accepted. The Premier of Ceylon said that he had to respect the wishes of his late lamented father in disfranchising Indians. The Premier of Ceylon did not want to go into the question whether this measure was just or not. He had simply to carry out the wishes and words of his father dead and gone. He did not think that the legitimate rights of several lakhs of people are at stake. It is a pity that Ceylon, a member of the Commonwealth, should turn down the request of the Government of India, a neighbouring country and a member of the Commonwealth, to reconsider its attitude in the matter of the just rights of the Indians in Ceylon. Again the repeated representations of the leaders of the Ceylonese Indian Congress fell on deaf ears as a result of which the Ceylon Indians had to launch the struggle of *satyagraha*. Their peaceful and non-violent struggle for a just and righteous cause will open the eyes of the Government of Ceylon to the injustice done to the large Indian community and thus pave the way for an honourable settlement. With these words, I support the motion.”

* SRI H. SATYANARAYANA DORA :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, 4 p.m. I have great pleasure in supporting the motion moved by the Hon. Minister. It is Indian capital and Indian labour that has contributed so much to the prosperity of Ceylon, and yet, nearly eight lakhs of Indians have been denied the right to participate in the general elections. Even now, Sir, Ceylon depends to a very large extent on us for certain very important materials. If they are denied, what will be the effect? Because our Government are good and generous, this kind of obstinacy is persisted in. Ceylon is just like a sister to India. I do hope that good sense would prevail and the large Indian population will be given the franchise. Some of my hon. Friends want to take stronger measures. But I am afraid we have to proceed very cautiously in the matter. Ceylon is as much an independent country as India. What did we do when a number of our people—lakhs and lakhs of our men—who were settled in Burma, were sent out from Burma? I am afraid this is a matter in which we have to proceed very cautiously, and I am sure the Hon. Minister's resolution is sufficient to express our feelings in the matter.”

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* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was a time when the people of India who settled down in all other countries were not given the status they deserved, because they were considered as coming from a slave country. Times have changed and India has become a free country now. So also Ceylon. The condition of the people of Ceylon is not essentially different from that of the people of India. But all the same, India believes in democracy and has extended the right of voting to all those who wanted it. People from other countries who have settled here are given the right to vote. In my own constituency I know of a Swiss lady who is given the right to vote. She has spent most of her time in India. To-day all that the Government of India asks of Ceylon is to extend the right of voting to the people of India who have gone away from India and settled down in Ceylon for very many generations and made themselves part and parcel of that country. They have given their life-blood to see that the rubber and tea plantations of Ceylon prospered. They added considerably to the prosperity of the country. Their services were accepted in full, but unfortunately, they are not given the right to vote. I can say to-day that but for the exploitation of Indian labour, the Ceylonese would not have prospered to such an extent as they have to-day. By extending the right of voting to these Indians who want it, I do not think the Government of Ceylon will in any way change. It is the fundamental right that these Indians are asking for. It is just, right and proper that they should be given the right to vote. Any persistence in the denial of voting rights may endanger and strain the good relations existing between the two countries. India and Ceylon have got many great problems to solve, together, and it is unfortunate that there should be any sore in the relationship between these two countries which may make it difficult for them to pull together. The right of voting extended to these people will add to the fund of goodwill, that it has taken many years to build, and will help India and Ceylon to work together. If the right of voting is not extended, it would lead to the straining of relations between the two countries, and it would continue to be a sore for all time. When larger problems are expected to be handled, it is quite likely that the sore appears over and over again. Personally I do not wish that this matter should be referred to the United Nations at all. They have had sufficient number of problems referred to them and until those problems have been solved, it is not worth sending any more problems to them for solution. I would rather wish, as our friend Dr. Menon said, that a straight appeal is made to the people of Ceylon by the people of India that all those people of India who have settled in Ceylon are part and parcel of Ceylon, and that they should be regarded as such. It is not true to say that they will in any way come in the way of the economic development of the Ceylonese. All that they want is a right to play their role in the economic development of the country."

**SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM :—" கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, கனம் சி. சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்த இந்த பிரேரணையை நான் மனம்

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[Sri K. R. Sambandam]

பூர்வமாக ஆமோதிக்கிறேன். இப்பொழுது அதற்குக் கொண்டு வரப்பட்ட சில திருத்தங்களை—அவைகள் விரும்பப்படாத விஷயமாக இருப்பதால்—அவைகளை எதிர்த்துக்கிறேன்.

“சாதாரணமாக இப்பொழுது கனம் ஆர். வி. சுவாமிநாதன் அவர்கள் யு. என். ஓ.-க்கு இந்த விஷயத்தைக் கொண்டு போகலாம் என்று சொன்னார். சாதாரணமாக காஷ்மீர் பிரச்சனை அங்கு எப்படி தீர்க்கப்பட்டது என்பது நமக்கு எல்லோருக்கும் தெரிந்த விஷயம். இந்த பிரச்சனையில் நாம் ஏதாலும் மனப்பூர்வமாகச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றால் நாம் ஹைதராபாத் பிரச்சனையை எப்படி சீக்கிரத்தில் தீர்த்தோமோ அதேபோல் செய்யவேண்டும். இல்லையானால் இதில் எந்த விதமான முடிவும் ஏற்படாது.

“இரண்டாவதாக கனம் கோசல்ராம் அவர்கள் பேசும்போது அங்கே இருக்கும்படியான இந்தியர்களை இங்கே கொண்டு வந்தால் ஒரு சமயம் இந்தப் பிரச்சனையைத் தீர்க்கலாம் என்று சொன்னார். இப்பொழுது இங்கே இருக்கும் வேலை இல்லாத திண்டாட்டம் படித்தவர்களுக்கும் படிக்காதவர்களுக்கும் இருக்கும் இந்த சூழ்நிலையில் அதுவும் பாதித்தானிலிருந்து கொண்டு வரப்பட்ட அகதிகள் கூட இங்கு பிச்சை எடுக்கும் நிலையில் இருக்கும்போது இலங்கையிலிருந்து இந்தியர்களை இங்கு கொண்டு வந்தால் அவர்களை வைத்து இங்கு எப்படி சமாளிக்க முடியும் என்ற ஒரு காரணத்தை நாம் யோசித்துப் பார்க்க வேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. சாதாரணமாக நமது தென்னாட்டில் இருக்கும் மக்கள் அவர்களுடைய ஒரு சிறிய கருத்துக்களை வைத்துக்கொண்டு தினாக்கல் ஓடியும் திரவியம் தேடு’ என்ற பழமொழிக்கு ஏற்ப அவர்கள் தென் ஆபிரிக்கா, மலேயா, மொரிஷஸ் முதலிய இடங்களுக்குப்போய் அந்த நாட்டை வளம்பெறச் செய்து, பண பதித்த நல்ல நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவ்வித நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டு வந்தவர்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது அங்கே வாழவும் கூடாது; பிறப்பு உரிமை கூட கிடைக்கவில்லை என்றால் அது யாராலும் ஆமோதிக்கக்கூடிய விஷயம் அல்ல. ஆகையினால் இந்த விஷயத்தை நாம் ஒரு முக்கிய பிரச்சனையாகக் கருதி கூடிய சீக்கிரத்தில் இலங்கையில் இருக்கும் அவ்வளவு இந்திய மக்களுக்கும் பிரதிநிதித்துவமும் பிறப்புரிமையும் கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்பதை நமது பிரதம மந்திரியும் அயல் நாட்டுப் பிரச்சனையில் இதையும் ஒரு முக்கிய பிரச்சனையாக எடுத்துக்கொண்டு இந்த மாதிரியான விஷயத்தை உடனடியாகத் தீர்க்காவிட்டால் பிற்பாடு இந்த பிரச்சனையானது தீர்க்க முடியாமல் போய்விடும். இப்பொழுது தென் ஆபிரிக்காவில் இதே மாதிரி போராட்டம் நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது. அதே மாதிரி போராட்டம் இன்றைக்கு அங்கும் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டுவிடும். இன்னும் இதர இடங்களிலும் மற்றும் மலேயா முதலிய இடங்களிலும் ஏற்படும். ஆகவே இலங்கை இந்திய மக்களின் உரிமைப் பிரச்சனையை ஒரு முக்கிய பிரச்சனையாக எடுத்துக்கொண்டு அதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்படவேண்டும். அதற்கு வேண்டிய காரியங்களையும் தக்க சமயத்தில் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு இந்த பிரேரணையை முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரித்து அதற்குக் கொண்டு வந்த திருத்தப் பிரேரணையை எதிர்த்து என்னுடைய பேச்சை இதுடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—“అసలు, ఈ బిల్లును సేను వ్యవస్థాపకముగా వివరించును. కాని అసలు ఈ బిల్లును భారతీయుల విషయములో జరుగుచున్న టువంటి సంఘటనలకు మూలకారణముగా ఆలోచించవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. భారతీయులకల్ల ఇటువంటి సంఘటనలు ఒక సిల్నులోనే కాదు. ఈ సంఘటనలు రంగునులోను జరుగుచున్నవి, దక్షిణ ఆఫ్రికాలో జరుగుచున్నవి. భారతీయులు ఎక్కడ ఉంటే అక్కడ ఏదో కొన్ని సంఘటనలు జరుగుచున్నవి. భారతీయులు రంగునులో ఉన్న ఏదో ఒక సంఘటన, దక్షిణ ఆఫ్రికాలో ఉన్న ఏదో ఒక సంఘటన వివరించును. ఇప్పుడు

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah]

[12th May 1952]

సిలోనులూ భారతీయులకు సామాన్య మానవునికే ఉండవలసిన వోటింగు హక్కుకూడా లేకుండా చేసినది. కనుక దీనికంతకు మూలవిరాట్ స్వరూపమేమిటో తెలుసుకోవాలి. ముఖ్యంగా మన దేశము కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉన్న కారణంచేతనే ఈ ఆభావం ; భారతీయులు కామన్వెల్తుల్లోని దేశాలకు ఎక్కడికి వెళ్లినా అక్కడ వెళ్లగొట్టబడుతున్నారు. దీనికి ప్రధాన కారణమేమంటే భారతదేశములో ప్రజాస్వామిక ఉద్యమాలు చాలా ప్రబలంగా ఉన్నాయి. దీనికి సంబంధించినటువంటి ఆయా ప్రజాస్వామిక దేశాలలో ఆ ఉద్యమాలను నడుపుతున్నారు. కనుక, అటువంటి సంప్రదాయాన్ని నేర్చుకొన్నటువంటి భారతీయులను అక్కడనుండి వెళ్లగొట్టడమంటే, దీనికి కారణం సామాన్యవాద కుట్ర అనేది మాత్రము మరచిపోకూడదని కోరుతున్నాను. అందువల్ల నేను మనవిచేయునదేమనగా, ఈ విషయాన్ని U.N.O. కు తెలుపుకొంటే ఏమి ప్రయోజనముండదు. వారు దీని పరిశీలనకు ఏదో ఒక సబ్ కమిటీని నియమించుతారు. ఆ సబ్ కమిటీని బ్రిటన్ లకు ఈ విషయమై ఆలోచిస్తూనే ఉంటుంది. తుదకు U.N.O. యొక్క సమన్వేయ లేకపోవచ్చు. కనుక U.N.O. కు తెలుపుకోవడంతో ఏమీ ప్రయోజనంలేదు. అందువల్ల ప్రధానంగా మనము చేయవలసినదేమిటంటే, ఇప్పుడు మనము కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉన్నాము. సిలోనుకూడా కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉన్నది. కాని కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉన్నందున మనము అనుభవిస్తున్న దేమిటంటే, భారతీయులు సిలోనులలో ఉంటే అక్కడనుండి మెడబట్టి నెట్టబడడం, దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలో ఉంటే అక్కడనుండి మెడబట్టి నెట్టబడడం, రంగూనులో ఉంటే అక్కడనుండి మెడబట్టి నెట్టబడడం ఈ మదిరి భారతీయులు ఎక్కడ ఉంటే అక్కడ మెడబట్టి నెట్టబడడం జరుగుతున్నది. ఇదేనా మనము కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉన్నందుకు ఫలితము? కనుక మనము చేయవలసినదేమిటంటే మన ప్రభుత్వము కామన్వెల్తు సమావేశానికి వెళ్లినప్పుడు ఈ సమస్యను అచ్చట చర్చించి మనదేశము కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉండి ఏమి ప్రయోజనము? ఎందుకు ఉండవలెను? ఇతర దేశాలలో భారతీయులు నిరాదరింపబడి బహిష్కరింపబడుతున్నారు. వారికి సామాన్య పౌర హక్కులు కూడా ఇవ్వకుండా ఉన్నారు. కనుక ఈ సమస్య న్యాయంగా పరిష్కరింపబడి ఇతర దేశాలలోని భారతీయులకు అన్ని సౌకర్యాలు, పౌరహక్కులు కల్పిస్తేనే గాని, లేకపోయిన మేము కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉండదలచుకోలేదు అని వాదించవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను. మన కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉండాలనే కోరుతున్నది. కాని భారతీయులు అన్నిచోట్లనూ ఈ మదిరి బహిష్కరింపబడుతుంటే కామన్వెల్తుల్లో ఉండి ఏమి ప్రయోజనము? ఇతరదేశాలవారు మనదేశంలో ఉంటే వారికి మనము అన్ని పౌరహక్కులు ఇస్తున్నాము. వోటింగు హక్కుకూడా ఇస్తున్నాము. ఇంగ్లీషువారు ఉంటే వారికి వోటింగు హక్కుకూడా ఇస్తున్నాము. బర్మావారుంటే వారికి వోటింగు హక్కు ఇస్తున్నాము. సిలోన్ వారు ఉంటే వారికీ కూడా వోటింగు హక్కు ఇస్తున్నాము. దక్షిణాఫ్రికావారు ఉన్నా, వారికి ఇస్తున్నాము. అమెరికావారు ఉన్నా, వారికి ఇస్తున్నాము. ఈ మదిరి మన దేశంలో ఇతర దేశస్తులు ఎవరు ఉన్నప్పటికీ వారికి అన్ని పౌరహక్కులు ఇస్తూ, వారికి మనమెంతో accommodative గా ఉండున్నప్పటికీ, భారతీయుల పట్ల ఇతరదేశస్తులు ఆ మదిరి ఉండడం లేదంటే చాలా విచారంగా ఉన్నది. కనుక నేను మనవిచేయునదేమనగా ఈ సమస్య పరిష్కారము U.N.O. ద్వారా ప్రయత్నించినా లాభములేదు. భారతీయులకు ఏ దేశములో వైనా సామాన్య సిటిజన్ షిప్ హక్కులను ఇవ్వకపోయినట్లైతే మేము కామన్వెల్తుల్లో సభ్యత్వాన్ని వంటనే వదలుకొంటామని వెప్పవలసినదని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి తెలుపవలసినది కోరుతూ, ఇంతటితో విరమించుకొంటున్నాను.”

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* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I only rise to say that the House is unanimous on the subject of this resolution and that there is no difference of opinion in this matter. The disfranchisement of the Indians living in Ceylon is a matter of national concern, and on this we, the Opposition members, are in entire agreement with the Government. We only want that the Government should take effective steps. Some two years ago, we had a similar resolution passed in this House, and I do not know what steps were taken in pursuance of that resolution by the Central Government and what reply the Ceylon Government gave to the Central Government. This House, I believe, did not hear of any reply. However, this time at least I am standing here only to tell the Government that they must take effective steps, and that they must see that the Central Government also take effectives. It should not merely be a matter of representation, but it must be something more. We must put our heart and soul into the matter. I support the resolution.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a very significant fact that all sections of the House have warmly supported this motion regarding the citizenship rights of Indians in Ceylon. So far as these people that live in Ceylon and have lived in Ceylon and have made Ceylon their home are concerned, they are called Indians on account of the origin of their nationality and not on account of their present civic position. Indians in Ceylon for whom this resolution has been conceived are like people in America who speak English and who came from England or like the people in Canada who came from England and who speak English or like any other people who carry the culture and the language of their country of origin with them but who have worked heart and soul for the progress and the development of the country where they have landed and to which they belong now. It is, therefore, wrong for the people of Ceylon or any section of the people of Ceylon to look upon these people as if they were outsiders or foreigners. This is the fundamental error, the fundamental mischief in the whole attitude against which we are fighting now. There is a great deal of good reason that has been urged against the amendment that has been proposed by my hon. Friend Sri Swaminathan. It is contrary to the approach which I wish, for my part, should be made in this respect. We have to depend upon the better mind of the people of Ceylon. It is no use depending on an outsider for the purpose of putting pressure upon the people of Ceylon. Franchise acquired for 10 per cent of the population of Ceylon by means of pressure from abroad will be worth nothing; it will be not worth the paper on which that franchise is recorded. It is only when the people of Ceylon are convinced and their better mind has turned the other way round and given the franchise that these people are entitled to in justice, that the franchise will amount to something valuable. To make matters quite clear, let us imagine that 10 per cent of the Members of this House get their right in this House through pressure from abroad, be it from the U.N.O. or be it from

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any other great, big and powerful country; would that right carry any weight in this House? It is only when the House recognizes out of its own conviction the right of the 10 per cent—that the voice of even one-tenth or one-twentieth of the Members of this House will have great weight. What applies to the imaginary case that I have put forward applies to the whole of Ceylon. If the people of Ceylon really can be convinced that these emigrants from India who went there and tilled and worked and worked hard—some of them died, some of them fell sick, and from one generation to another they have worked—have looked upon Ceylon as their home, so much so that when they come back to India they really feel as absolute strangers in India, and if the people of Ceylon recognize the value of the service rendered by these people, then alone would their franchise be valuable, and it is on that basis that we claim the franchise. It is not as if we have sent 8 lakhs of people abroad to conquer that place or to get the franchise of that place and dominate over others. These 8 lakhs of people have settled in Ceylon as citizens of Ceylon and it is unfortunate that fear, apprehension and petty and narrow ideas of self-interest have prevented those who are in charge of the fortunes of Ceylon and of the politics of Ceylon from seeing the true position and they have not been able to recognize the plain justice of the case of these people for whom we are fighting. But we should never give up hope. It is no use thinking in terms of either economic, political or other pressure from outside and force being utilized as a means of getting the right, which like the Dead Sea fruit will be worthless as long as we acquire it through that pressure. It is only if we acquire it in the proper way that franchise will have any value. We do not hope and cannot hope that these eight lakhs of people will multiply in future and get numerical influence in the politics of the State. What we want is the right that belongs to them by reason of their attachment to Ceylon. Therefore, we should be patient. Neither the method that was referred to by one hon. Member who spoke as the method employed in bringing order in Hyderabad nor an appeal to the U.N.O. to be our arbiters and decide between us two cats fighting here, should be thought of and I beg of the hon. Member Sri Swaminathan to withdraw the amendment to this motion. This motion stands on higher grounds. Let it stand on its own legs.

“ Sir, many hon. Members from both sides of the House have referred to the influence which our Prime Minister, the Prime Minister of India can wield and ought to wield in this matter for the benefit of the people of Ceylon. He has great influence but that influence is born out of his gentleness, dignity, his peculiar amiability and his own personality. We cannot force a man to act apart from his own nature and hope to retain his influence. If we depend upon the influence of Mr. Nehru, we must depend upon his own ways, his own manners, his own amiability and his own utter gentleness and his moral power. If we want him to be powerful, we must allow him to act in his own way. But if we give him directions from here to

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do this and to do that, in the first place, he will not do that because he is not a man who will give up his own ways and adopt other people's ways and suggestions, and even if he adopts other people's ways, it would not suit him. It has been laid down long ago in the Gita that no man can profit by acting against his own *dharma*—every man must act according to his own *dharma*—and *dharma* here means his own nature and make-up. There is no good trying to go against one's own nature. Therefore, let us leave it to the Prime Minister of India who is a great power. Let me tell my hon. Friends here that to-day the Prime Minister in Delhi is not less a power than Gandhiji was in his own time. In his own way he has a moral power of which all the biggest powers in the world are a bit nervous and are a bit afraid. Though we have no army worth mentioning, no navy worth the name, and no aircraft carrier and no personnel worth mentioning for the purpose of offensive and aggressive operations—yet we are very powerful. We seem to operate from a sphere a little higher than the air and stratosphere itself. We have got a moral level from which the Prime Minister speaks to the whole world and I do hope that the leaders of Ceylon will listen to it. We must be content with that and that is a great deal more powerful than force.

“ I do not want the debate to be diluted by any references to other methods which do not apply in this case. No section can get a place in democracy on any other basis except that of democracy. Therefore, the people of Ceylon must be persuaded. We must hope and try to get it done. The people of India who have gone and settled down in Ceylon, I have no doubt, look upon Ceylon as their home, but by reason of the present conflict, one eye of theirs is turned towards India. Because of the very conflict, the poor people who have not the franchise look to India for support. That, I hope, will not mislead the people of Ceylon to imagine that these are Indians and not really people of Ceylon. Adversity compels them to look to India. I can give my own personal experience in the matter. It is the villagers, the ordinary peasant folk, that have gone there. If they return to India to see distant relatives on occasions of death or marriage or during a holiday, they do not feel at home in India and they look eagerly to the date when they will get a passage to go back to Ceylon. Economic conditions also have produced that feeling. Causes produce effects and those effects cannot be ignored. It is the poverty of India that forced our people to go there. It is the industry of these people that developed Ceylon. It is the beauty of Ceylon and the fact that Ceylon is a good place that make the people wish to live in Ceylon and be loyal to it. Let us, therefore, look at the matter in a spirit of goodwill and I am sure one day or other it will bear fruit. After all, we must depend on forces of goodwill and not on forces of pressure. In this particular case, there is no use depending on pressure and I am quite certain in my mind and I must tell my hon. Friend Sri Swaminathan that I will never agree to send this issue to the United Nations Organization; whatever the reasons may be, it is unnecessary to

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state them here in detail. We must somehow or other decide it between Ceylon and ourselves. Let us not yield to the temptation, without realizing it, of feeling more or less on imperialistic lines that our people have spread abroad all over South Asia, that we must have power everywhere, that we are a great people, and that we must fight it all out, and retain our influence and our power there. That is only a pale shadow of the imperialism which has gone from India and which we do not wish to imitate. Let us not think on those lines. Let us think on better lines, namely, that our people have gone and developed the prosperity and the wealth of the countries around us, that those people must and will recognize our place in those countries and when men have lived there permanently and even their language has been altered to a considerable extent, they must be treated as people of those countries. I can assure the people of Ceylon—many of them are my friends—that the Tamil-speaking labourer in Ceylon looks upon Ceylon as his own home and he speaks a Tamil which is different from the Tamil of the village to which he originally belonged and it is a crime to treat such people as citizens of India where they have no connexion at all and where they will only suffer if they come back. It is impossible to take these people back to India; we will never take them back to India whatever may be their misfortunes. We must make it quite clear to everybody that these people will not come back to India and that these people will be there either as a nuisance or as citizens. This is the crux of the matter. I hope that the amendment will be withdrawn and that this House will adopt this motion with one voice."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" In view of the reasons given by the Hon. the Chief Minister, I beg to withdraw my amendment."

The amendment was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

' That this Assembly expresses its deep sympathy with those citizens of Ceylon who having been settled in Ceylon for the benefit and development of the island and become citizens of Ceylon are, by a series of measures, sought to be excluded from the rights of citizenship conferred on the people of Ceylon.

' That this Assembly extends to these unfortunate citizens of Ceylon its fullest sympathy in their struggle for justice and equal civic rights.

' That this Assembly appeals to the better mind of the people of Ceylon to extend their support to their unfortunate brethren in their struggle for their legitimate rights.

' That this Assembly recommends to the Government to forward the above resolution to the Government of India for necessary action.' "

The motion was carried.

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MR. SPEAKER :—" I adjourn the House to meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, the 13th June 1952."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, the 13th June 1952.^a

VII.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

Amendment to the Malabar Tenancy Rules, 1951.



^a Since the above announcement was made the session was prorogued on 24th May 1952,